Canada and the Navy

Canada's Position in Military and Naval Defence

An Outline of Important Events

(*Prepared with a view of illustrating past conditions and considerations in their bearing upon the present question of Canada's duty in National and Imperial Defence*)

Which Policy should Canada adopt?

THE CONSERVATIVE POLICY :

An immediate expenditure of $35,000,000 for the three most powerful battleships in the world, as part of a permanent policy of contribution, or in addition to some other policy to be announced later.

THE LIBERAL POLICY :

A Canadian Naval Service in accordance with the unanimous resolution of the House of Commons of March, 1909.

ISSUED BY THE
CENTRAL INFORMATION OFFICE
OF THE
CANADIAN LIBERAL PARTY
OTTAWA, CANADA
1913

PUBLICATION No. 7

LPF5012 1913 L695 NO.7 N.A.

Centralization or Co-operation

Canada's position in defence falls naturally for purposes of consideration under two heads, (1) **Military** defence, or defence by land, and (2) **Naval** defence, or defence by sea; and as respects both military and naval defence should be viewed with reference to (1) her own defence, and (2) assistance or co-operation in the defence of other parts of the Empire.

Previous to Confederation the defence of what now constitutes the Dominion of Canada was entirely in the hands of the Imperial Government, who for that purpose maintained troops in each Province supported by various local Volunteer Militia Corps.

After Confederation, the Imperial troops were gradually withdrawn from this country and at present none remain.

During **the Red River Rebellion in 1870** and **the North-West Rebellion in 1885,** Great Britain sent officers and soldiers from the Home Land to assist the Canadian forces in suppressing these uprisings. In the case of the Red River Expedition, 800, or about one-third of the force were imperial troops; in the case of the North-West Rebellion, staff officers alone were loaned.

At the time of **the Soudan War in 1884,** when New South Wales offered the Imperial Government a body of troops, Canada declined **under the Conservative Administration of Sir John A. Macdonald** to send any troops from Canada to participate in this war. Sir John maintained the position that it was for Canada to say to what extent she would participate in Eurpoean, African or Asiatic conflicts in which Great Britain might be involved, and sustained this position by refusing to participate at all.

Great Britain was relieved **under the Laurier Administration,** of the expense of maintaining garrisons in Canada, this obligation being assumed by the Canadian Government. Great Britain, moreover, was not called upon during Sir Wilfrid's Administration to render military aid of any kind to the Dominion.

During the South African War, Canada voluntarily came to the assistance of the mother country and despatched fully equipped contingents of infantry, artillery and cavalry to take part in that war. This was done, not as the recognition of an obligation on Canada's part to participate in all wars no matter where arising, or what the cause, but, voluntarily, in accordance with the position resolutely maintained ,to determine " as the need arises " the extent of her co-operation. The attitude of the government of Sir Wilfrid Laurier towards participation in imperial wars was exactly the same as that of the government of Sir John Macdonald, the only difference in application being that Sir John asserted it by refusing to participate, Sir Wilfrid by offering to lend assistance, and actually aiding.

Since the South African War, arrangements to facilitate co-operation between different parts of the Empire in matters of defence have been much considered, and a scheme of organization effected which,

whilst preserving to all the self-governing Dominions complete control of their own forces, is intended to render assistance more effective, should the need arise and the Dominions decide to participate.

Repeated efforts have been made by one or two British statesmen in England to have Canada, by one means or another, commit herself in advance to **participation in wars in which Britain may be involved,** without reserving to herself any say as to what course she should pursue as the need arises. These efforts have always failed, because Britain naturally has been unwilling to relinquish the exclusive control she exercises over foreign policy, and Canada has been equally unwilling to part with any measure of self-government.

The British Government, on the one hand, has strongly maintained that any body on which Canada, or the other Dominions, may be represented in matters of defence, shall be advisory and consultative only, and that matters of policy affecting peace and war must be exclusively the prerogative of the British Cabinet, subject only to the Parliament of Great Britain. **Canada, on the other hand,** has as resolutely maintained the position that she should not be asked to sacrifice in any particular her rights of self-government and should be permitted to say, as the need arises, the extent to which she will participate in international conflicts, unconnected in any way with her own territory or policies, and which may arise because of circumstances wholly beyond her knowledge or control. In imperial affairs the difference as between advocates of different systems of organization in matters of defence has been between centralization and co-operation: and thus far **both the mother country and the self-governing Dominions have regarded co-operation as the only basis on which imperial unity and local autonomy can be maintained.**

In naval defence the whole course of development has been along identical lines. **A complete departure,** however, is **involved in the announcement of Mr. Borden** on December 5th, 1912, of the proposal of his Government to present to England, at a cost of thirty-five million dollars, the three largest battleships in the world, this either as part of a permanent policy of contribution, or in addition to some other permanent policy to be announced later. These three largest battleships in the world are, to use Mr. Borden's own words " to range themselves in the battle line of the Empire " and to be " maintained and controlled as part of the Royal Navy."This means that there has been **reserved to the people of Canada** who are being taxed thirty-five million dollars for their construction, and who may later on be called upon for further contribution, **no kind of control** as to the ends they may be made to serve, or with respect to the conflicts in which they are to participate.

It will thus be seen, that **Mr. Borden's policy is a complete reversal of the attitude assumed by Canada ever since Confederation with respect to defence both military and naval.** It is a reversal of the position which, with the full concurrence and endorsation of the British Government, Canada, in common with the other self-governing Dominions, has maintained in respect of the right of control which, as a self-governing Dominion, she is entitled to exercise over expenditure for military, naval or other purposes and with regard to the outcome of policies with which she has had nothing to do, and which may or may not meet with her approval.

Mr. Borden himself is saying at the present time that Canada should do nothing of a permanent nature in the matter of imperial naval defence until she has a voice in the issues that determine peace and war, and is giving this as a reason why he is unable to adopt a permanent policy. A despatch, dated London, December 10, 1912, from the Secretary of State for the Colonies, the Rt. Honourable Lewis Harcourt, to His Royal Highness the Governor General of Canada " for the information of Mr. Borden's Cabinet," states that " policy is and must remain the sole prerogative of the Cabinet, subject to the support of the House of Commons " (at Westminster). Without expressing any opinion as to these matters, it is to be observed that **what Mr. Borden is proposing to do is the very thing which he says should not be done.** By the gift of the three largest battleships in the world to the British Admiralty, he commits Canada irrevocably to participation in any and every conflict that may arise into which these ships may be brought, and places it wholly beyond the power of the Canadian Parliament to exercise any control should there be a course of policy or action of which the people of Canada do not approve.

Circumstances afford **only one of two possible explanations of this complete reversal** of what, wholly irrespective of party, has come to be understood as the accepted basis of relationship between the United Kingdom and the self-governing Dominions with respect to national and imperial defence,—either that, entirely irrespective of the will of the people, Mr. Borden deliberately proposes to **subst tute a policy of centralization for one of co-operation in matteirs of defence,** or, that because of the compromised position of himself and his party **through the alliance between the Nationalists and the Conservatives,** he is prepared **to resort to the expedient of voting** thirty-five million dollars for dreadnoughts, to escape, for the time being, the framing of a permanent policy, and yet appear to be doing something substantial in aid of Britain. No matter which explanation is accepted, the consequences are the same; **a complete reversal of the position which the Canadian parliament and people have hitherto maintained with so much pride and with results so wholly beneficial to British connection,** and the opening of the way to endless possible dissensions both in the United Kingdom and in Canada as to what is, and is not understood, and what may, or may not be involved, with all the elements of possible disintegration and estrangement with which these differences may be fraught.

It may be that a section of the Canadian people are willing to forget with what difficulty Canada has attained her rights of self-government and control, and the advantages she derives from them, and are ready to substitute **centralization without control, for co-operation with control** in inter-imperial relations, but Mr. Borden is hardly justified in forcing the whole Donmiion into this position, without giving to the people of Canada an opportunity of expressing their views in **a matter which vitally affects the present rights, and future position of the Dominion.**

The following brief chronology will serve to illustrate the **events and considerations which have determined Canada's part in the past, in the matter of military and naval defence** and may serve to throw some light on the conditions which have helped to bring about the present extraordinary position.

1867—**Confederation—Canada chooses between making a contribution** to the British War Office for purposes of land defence **and undertaking to provide in some measure for her own defence.** By the agreement reached, Canada was to spend about one million dollars annually on the military system of the Dominion, and Great Britain, at her own expense, to station and maintain, in addition, troops in the Dominion.

1870—**The Red River Expedition**—General Wolseley and British troops assist Canadian volunteers.

1884—**The Soudan War**—New South Wales offers the Imperial Government to send, at her own expense, a body of troops.

Canada, under the government of Sir John A. Macdonald, declines to send troops, but offers to sanction recruiting in Canada for service in Egypt or elsewhere on condition that the entire cost must fall on the Imperial exchequer. Lord Melgund, the Governor General's Secretary, in compliance with instructions received from the Imperial Government, advertises for 600 boatmen to take part in the Expedition up the Nile. They were recruited and sent to Alexandria at expense of Home Government.

1885—**The North West Rebellion**—General Middleton with staff officers loaned from the Imperial service assist Canadian Volunteers.

The Colonial Defence Committee established in London—Its duty to study Colonial defence.

1896—**The Imperial Defence Committee established in London**—An enlargement of the Colonial Defence Committee—**a purely consultative body, having no executive power or administrative functions,** called together by the British Prime Minister when the Prime Minister wants advice. Prime Minister asks who he wishes to attend, and does with advice as he pleases. This body is assisted in its deliberations by the Colonial Defence Committee, which is regarded as its Sub-Committee.

1897—**Colonial Conference held in London—Canada declines to interchange regiments** with different parts of the Empire.

1899—**South African War—Canada co-operates with other Dominions** in assisting Great Britain.

Oct. 15th—Canadian Government cables offer of 1,000 infantry.

Oct. 30th—First contingent (57 officers and 1,224 men) sails from Quebec, S.S. Sardinia.

Nov. 2nd—Canadian Government offers second contingent. At first declined.

1900.

Jan. 21st—First quota second contingent leaves Halifax, S.S. Laurentian.

Jan. 27—Second quota second contingent leaves Halifax, S.S. Pomeranian.

March 16th—Strathcona Horse (537 officers and men with 573 horses) leaves Halifax on S.S. Monterey, also (121 men) to fill up "casualty lists."

1902.

Jan. 14th—Royal Canadian Mounted Rifles (454 officers and men and 514 horses) leave Halifax S.S. Manhatten.

Jan. 24th—Canadian Mounted Rifles (440 officers and men and 454 horses) also Canadian Field Hospital Army Medical Corps (62 officers and men and 30 horses) leave Halifax, S.S. Victoria.

1902—**Colonial Conference at London—Canada declines** because of "departure it involves from the principle of self-government" **to set apart certain of her forces for foreign service,** notwithstanding the proposal made that the United Kingdom would contribute to their pay. Canada agrees, however, to consider the sending of military contingents "whenever the need arises," but **expresses unwillingness to pledge contingents in advance** for all cases of European war.

1903—**Imperial Defence Committee meets in London**—Canada represented by Sir Frederick Borden, Minister of Militia.

1905—**Garrisoning of Halifax taken over by Canada**—Imperial troops replaced by officers and men of the Canadian permanent corps.

1906—**Garrisoning of Esquimalt taken over by Canada**—Imperial troops replaced by officers and men of the Canadian permanent corps.

(The additional annual expense to Canada in taking over these two fortresses was approximately $1,000,000.)

*The annual expenditure by Canada on the militia for 10 years from 1901 has been as follows:—

1902-3	$2,503,639
1903-4	3,544,589
1904-5	3,945,141
1905-6	5,593,518
1906-7 (9 months)	4,320,967
1907-8	6,795,678
1908-9	6,484,806
1909-10	5,921,314
1910-11	6,909,211
1911-12	7,579,884

For 1912-13 the amount voted for militia by the Borden Administration was $8,896,397.

For 1913-14, the amount to be voted is fixed at $10,479,065.

907—**Imperial Conference held in London**—Canada represented by Sir Wilfrid Laurier and Sir Frederick Borden. A resolution carried making provision for calling of **subsidiary conference of Imperial Conference** whenever thought advisable.

Imperial Defence Committee meets, Canada represented by Sir Frederick Borden, Minister of Militia and Defence.

The Imperial General Staff Organized—for giving advice and furnishing information, to study military science, collect and disseminate military information and intelligence, undertake preparation of schemes of defence, advice as to training, education and organization,—**a purely advisory organization** of which command is not a function.

With reference to the Imperial General Staff, the Imperial Conference expressly noted that **its existence would not commit any of the governments represented,** and that it would not interfere in questions connected with command or administration.

1909—**Local sections of the Imperial General Staff established** in Canada, Australia and New Zealand on recommendation of Imperial General Staff.

Canadian section approved February 10, 1909, after express reference by Canadian Order in Council to the circumstance that **the principle of local control** by responsible Ministers concerned over officers of local section **has been fully safeguarded.**

July & August—Subsidiary Conference* (of Imperial Conference) of representatives of self-governing Dominions **on the naval and military defence of the Empire convened in London.** Canada represented by Sir F. W. Borden, Minister of Militia and Defence, Honourable L. P. Brodeur, Minister of Marine and Fisheries, Major-General F. H. N. Lake and Rear Admiral G. E. Kingsmill.

At this Conference on the Military side a plan was arranged of so organizing the forces of the Crown, that, to quote Premier Asquith's words (House of Commons, Aug. 26, 1909), " while preserving the complete autonomy of each Dominion, **should the Dominions desire to assist in the defence of the Empire in a real emergency** their forces could be rapidly combined into one homogeneous Imperial army."

General concurrence was expressed in the proposition " that each part of the Empire is willing to make its preparations on such lines as will enable it **should it so desire** to take its share in the general defence of the Empire."

Mr. Haldane, Minister of War, in laying the proposals before the Colonial representatives, said, **"the representatives of the over sea Dominions cannot at the Conference pledge their governments, or undertake in any way to bind the officers and men composing over sea Dominion forces to engagements beyond the shores and boundaries of their own countries"**—and that " whatever is done must be done spontaneously and **with due regard to the circumstances in which each one of them is situated."**

*See also reference to this Conference under heading "Naval Defence."

1887—**Canada declines,** at Colonial Conference held in London, **to send cash contribution to the British Navy.**

1897—**Canada again declines,** at Colonial Conference at London, **to send cash contribution to the British Navy.**

1902—**Canada again declines,** at Colonial Conference at London, **to send cash contribution to the British Navy.**

Canada expresses appreciation of duty of Dominion as it advances in population and wealth to make necessary outlay for the necessary preparation of self-defence.

Canada prepared to consider naval side of defence and states that on sea coast are numbers of men qualified to form a naval reserve, hopes to devise a system leading to training of these men and making their services available in time of need.

At this Conference, Canada's representatives placed on record their opinion as to **what the Canadian policy should be.** They did so in the following words:—

"The Canadian Ministers regret that they have beeen unable to assent to the suggestions made by Lord Selborne respecting a navy, and by Mr. St. John Brodrick respecting the army. The ministers desire to point out that their objections arise, not so much from the expense involved, as from a belief that the acceptance of the proposals would entail **an important departure from the principle of Colonial government.** Canada values highly the measure of local independence which has been granted her from time to time by the Imperial authorities, and which has been so productive of beneficial results, both as respects the material progress of the country and the strengthening of the ties that bind it to the Motherland..... At present, Canadian expenditures for the defence services are confined to the military side. The Canadian Government are prepared to consider the naval system of defence as well. On the sea coast of Canada there is a large number of men admirably qualified to form a naval reserve, and it is hoped that at an early date a system may be devised which will lead to the training of these men and to the making of their services available for defence in time of need."

1906—Jan. 1—**The dockyard and shipping plant with government buildings at Halifax taken over by the Canadian Government.**

British squadrons withdrawn from Halifax Atlantic station about this time.

Halifax and Esquimalt are both harbours of refuge, coaling stations and repair yards. They were transferred to the Canadian Government without any consideration, (Esquimalt, November 1st, 1910,) but with an agreement that they must be properly kept up in equipment and stores, so as to be available at all times for the British fleet, while British vessels at all times were to have precedence over other ships. In addition, there are large stores of the British Admiralty at Esquimalt, which are cared for by the Canadian Garrison.

1909—March 29—**Hon. Geo. E. Foster moves resolution** as follows:—

" That in the opinion of this House, in view of her great and varied resources, of her geographical position and national environments, and of that spirit of self-help and self-respect which alone befits a strong and growing people, Canada should no longer delay in assuming her proper share of the responsibility and financial burden incident to **the suitable protection of her exposed coast line and great seaports.**"

The House of Commons of Canada unanimously adopts following resolution:—

" This House fully recognizes the duty of the people of Canada, as they increase in numbers and wealth, to assume in larger measure the responsibilities of national defence.

" The House is of opinion that under the present constitutional relations between the mother country and the self-governing Dominions, **the payment of regular and periodical contributions to the imperial treasury for naval and military purposes would not, so far as Canada is concerned, be the most satisfactory solution of the questions of defence.**

" The House will cordially approve of any necessary expenditure designed to promote **the speedy organization of a Canadian naval service** in co-operation with and in close relation to the Imperial Navy, along the lines suggested by the Admiralty at the last Imperial Conference, and in full sympathy with the view that the naval supremacy of Britain is essential to the security of commerce, the safety of the Empire, and the peace of the world.

" The House expresses its firm conviction that **whenever the need arises,** the Canadian people will be found ready and willing to make any sacrifice that is required to give to the Imperial authorities the most loyal and hearty co-operation in every movement for the maintenance of the integrity and honour of the Empire."

April 30—**Invitations sent out by Secretary of State for the Colonies to self-governing Dominions to send representatives to a subsidiary Conference of the Imperial Conference to be held in London during July and August** to consider resolution of Canadian House of Commons, to discuss the general question of the naval and military defence of the Empire **with special reference to the Canadian resolution** and to proposals from Australia and New Zealand.

July & August—**Subsidiary Conference held in London.**
Canada represented by Sir F. W. Borden, Minister of Militia and Defence, Honourable L. P. Brodeur, Minister of Marine and Fisheries, Major General Sir F. H. N. Lake and Rear Admiral C. E. Kingsmill.

July 20th—**Admiralty Memorandum intended as basis for consultation on naval defence sent by First Lord of the Admiralty** to representatives of the Dominions. States that duty of Conference is **to formulate the broad prin-**

ciples upon which the growth of colonial naval forces should be fostered.

July 28th—Conference opened.

Aug. 31st—First meeting of Conference to consider naval defence.

On the naval side, **an arrangement was effected whereby Canada and Australia would undertake to provide local Naval services,** and New Zealand provide a dreadnought and continue contribution in part payment of coast protection to be provided by Home Government.

At this Conference the Admiralty proposed that "A Dominion government desirous of creating a navy should aim at forming a distinct fleet unit." As regards Canada, it was considered that her double seaboard rendered the provision of a fleet unit unsuitable for the present. It was proposed, according to the amount of money that might be available, that **Canada should make a start with cruisers** of the "Bristol" class **and destroyers** of an "Improved River" class—**a part to be stationed on the Atlantic seaboard and a part on the Pacific."***

1910.

Jan. 12th—**Naval Service Bill introduced in House of Commons** by Sir Wilfrid Laurier.

March 4th—Naval Service Bill receives royal assent and becomes known as **"The Act respecting the Naval Service of Canada."**

Contains provision for organization of a Department of Naval Service, the establishing of Naval forces, a Naval college, etc.

Nov. 1st—**Esquimalt dockyard and shipping plant taken over by the Canadian Government.**

British squadrons withdrawn from Esquimalt Pacific station about this time.

1911.

Jan. 19th—**Naval College at Halifax formally opened.**

June—**Subsidiary Conference of Imperial Conference held in London** between the British Admiralty and representatives of the Dominion of Canada and Australia at which it was agreed **"The Naval services and forces of the Dominion of Canada and Australia will be exclusively under the control of their respective governments."** Agreed also that each country should have its own **naval stations.** For Canada the latitude and longitude of the Canadian Atlantic Stations and of the Canadian Pacific Stations were definitely determined.

(On July 29th, the Canadian Parliament was dissolved and on September 21st, the Dominion General elections were held and Laurier Administration defeated on Reciprocity.)

1912.

Dec. 5th—**Premier Borden,** as leader of Conservative Administration, **introduces Bill** to authorize measures for increasing the effective

*See also reference to this Conference under heading "Military Defence."

naval forces of the Empire to be cited as " The Naval Aid Act " and proposes **the expenditure of thirty-five million dollars on the three largest battleships in the world,** to be presented to the British Admiralty as a gift from Canada.*

The Resolution, as moved by the Right Hon. R. L. Borden, was as follows:—

" Resolved, That it is expedient, in connection with the Bill now before this House intituled An Act to authorize measures for increasing the effective Naval Forces of the Empire, to provide:—

(a) That from and out of the Consolidated Revenue Fund of Canada there may be paid and applied a sum not exceeding thirty-five million dollars for the purpose of immediately increasing the effective Naval Forces of the Empire;

(b) That the said sum shall be used and applied under the direction of the Governor in Council in the construction and equipment of battleships or armoured cruisers of the most modern and powerful type;

(c) That the said ships, when constructed and equipped, shall be placed by the Governor in Council at the disposal of His Majesty for the common defence of the Empire; and

(d) That the said sum shall be paid, used and applied, and the said ships shall be constructed and placed at the disposal of His Majesty subject to such terms, conditions and arrangements as may be agreed upon between the Governor in Council and His Majesty's Government.

Dec. 12th—**Sir Wilfrid Laurier moves an amendment** as follows:—

That all the words after the word ' That ' be struck out, and the following be substituted therefor:—

' This House declines to concur in the said resolution and orders that the same be referred back to the committee with instructions to amend the same in the following particulars, namely, to strike out all the words after clause (a) and substitute therefor the following:—

' The memorandum prepared by the Board of Admiralty on the general naval situation of the Empire and communicated to this House by the Right Hon. the Prime Minister on December 5th shows that several of the most important of the foreign powers have adopted a definite policy of rapidly increasing their naval strength.

' That this condition has compelled the United Kingdom to concentrate its naval forces in home waters, involving the withdrawal of ships from the outlying portions of the Empire.

*Mr. Borden has since changed the nature of his proposal. In introducing the resolution in the House of Commons on Dec. 5, 1912, he said, " Every Canadian will realize in seeing or reading of these ships that they are a gift in which we have participated." In speaking on the second reading of the resolution in the House of Commons on Feb. 13, 1913, he said, " We do not propose that these ships shall pass out of the ownership of the Canadian people or government. Our proposal is that those ships shall be in the ownership of the Canadian people."

'That such withdrawal renders it necessary that Canada, without further delay, should enter actively upon a permanent policy of naval defence.

'That any measure of Canadian aid to Imperial naval defence which does not imply a permanent policy of participation by ships owned, manned and maintained by Canada and contemplating construction as soon as possible in Canada, is not an adequate or satisfactory expression of the aspirations of the Canadian people in regard to naval defence, and is not an assumption by Canada of her fair share in the maintenance of the naval strength of the Empire.

'This House regrets to learn the intention of the Government to indefinitely postpone the carrying out by Canada of a permanent naval policy.

'It is the opinion of this House that measures should be taken at the present session to give effect actively and speedily to the permanent naval policy embodied in the Naval Service Act of 1910 passed pursuant to the resolution unanimously approved by this House in March, 1909.

'This House is further of the opinion that to increase the power and mobility of the Imperial navy by the addition by Canada, under the above Act, of two fleet units, to be stationed on the Atlantic and Pacific coasts of Canada, respectively, rather than by a contribution of money or ships, is the policy best calculated to afford relief to the United Kingdom in respect to the burden of Imperial naval defence, and, in the words of the Admiralty memorandum, to restore greater freedom to the movements of the British squadrons in every sea and directly promote the security of the Dominions; and that the Government of Canada should take such steps as shall lead to the accomplishment of this purpose as speedily as possible.'

BEGINNINGS OF ORGANIZATION OF A CANADIAN NAVAL SERVICE UNDER LIBERAL ADMINISTRATION.

It has become a part of the tactics of the Borden Administration to seek to belittle the work of the Laurier Administration in putting into effect the unanimous resolution of the House of Commons of March 29, 1909, approving of the speedy organization of a Canadian Naval Service. An examination of what was actually accomplished will show that, having regard to the magnitude of the undertaking, the necessary conferences with the British Admiralty, the time required for the enactment of legislation and obtaining appropriations from Parliament, as well as the time required for the preparation and consideration of tenders for the construction of ships, both by Government and firms tendering, **the record of the Laurier Government in this, as in all other matters of administration, was both progressive and expeditious.**

The resolution was passed at the session of 1908-09. Before the session had ended, the Minister of Marine and the Minister of Naval Defence left for England to attend a subsidiary Conference of the Imperial Conference called for the express purpose of considering the Canadian Resolution and a similar resolution by Australia. An agreement was reached at this Conference as to what Canada and Australia should do, viz.: to each enter upon the organization of a naval service of their own. The Ministers returned and immediately a bill was drafted, with the aid and advice of Naval experts loaned to the Canadian Government by the Admiralty. It was introduced at the session immediately ensuing—(the session of 1909-10) and passed by Parliament on March 4, 1910. This **measure could not have been enacted earlier,** and until it was enacted and the necessary appropriation for giving its provisions effect voted by Parliament, the Administration could go no farther. That was March 4, 1910. Parliament was dissolved on July 29th, 1911, just a year and a little over four months later. The following brief outline will show **what was accomplished in these sixteen months.** Having regard to the circumstance that the whole work was concerned with bringing into existence an entirely new branch of Administration, and that interests, both Canadian and Imperial, of vast importance were involved, it will be generally conceded that **to have attempted to do more in the time would have rendered the Government liable to censure** on the ground of undue consideration and immoderate haste.

1910.

March 4th—**The Naval Service Act passed.** Steps immediately taken to organize a Department of Naval Service under five branches: (1) Naval, (2) Fishery Protection, (3) Tidal and Current Survey, (4) Hydrographic Survey, (5) Wireless Telegraph.

March 5th—G. J. Desbarats appointed **Deputy Minister of Department of Naval Service.**

Rear Admiral C. E. Kingsmill appointed **Director of the Naval Service.**

July 8th—**Advertisements** inserted in leading newspapers of Canada for the **construction of vessels for Canadian navy.** Canadian and British firms invited to tender. The following is a copy of the advertisement:—

"NOTICE CONCERNING CONSTRUCTION OF VESSELS FOR THE CANADIAN NAVY."

The vessels will be built according to the plans and specifications of the British Admiralty, which, being of a confidential nature, will only be exhibited to approved firms. The Department of Naval Service will, therefore, be glad to hear from any Canadian or British firm who would wish to tender for BUILDING IN CANADA ALL THESE WARSHIPS.

It would be necessary for such firms to show that they have or propose to put in a ship-building plant that would be considered sufficient for the building of cruisers of the Bristol class and that they have had such experience as will enable them to guarantee the building of such ships according to the Admiralty specifications.

It should be borne in mind that the Rush-Bagot Convention provides that no warships should be built on the Great Lakes and therefore ship-building firms should arrange for establishment elsewhere than on these Lakes.

Further information can be obtained by parties who propose to tender on application to the undersigned.

(Signed) G. J. DESBARATS,
Deputy Minister of the
Naval Service.

Department of Naval Service,
Ottawa, Ontario, July 8th, 1910."

Aug. 18th—Second class **cruiser "Rainbow"** previously purchased by Canadian Government from British Admiralty for use **as training ship on the Pacific,** sails from England.....**arrives at Esquimalt** November 7th.

Oct. 10th—First class **cruiser "Niobe,"** previously purchased from British Admiralty by Canadian Government for use **as training ship on the Atlantic,** sails from England.....**arrives at Halifax** October 21st.

Recruiting for both "Rainbow" and "Niobe" started on their arrival, also the organization of the dockyard at Halifax. According to the report of the Deputy Minister of the Department of Naval Service for the year ending March 31st, 1911, **recruiting was satisfactory** and the complement of the "Niobe" was practically complete on that date. There were still a few vacancies on the "Rainbow."

November—**Dockyards at Halifax and Esquimalt** transferred to Canada by Imperial Government and **taken over by the Naval Department.** These dockyards are administered at present by the Naval Service Department.—A dockyard staff has been organized at Halifax for general work.

1911.

Jan. 19th—**Naval College at Halifax formally opened.**

May 1st—**Tenders,** in accordance with the advertisement and information furnished, **received by the Government** of Canada from the following firms at prices quoted:—

William Beardmore & Co., Dalmuir, Scotland	$13,055,804
Armstrong Whitworth & Co., Newcastle-on-Tyne	$12,842,000
Vickers Sons & Maxim, Barrow-on-Furness	$12,712,152
The British and Canadian Shipbuilding and Dockyard Co., Sydney, C.B	$12,464,518
Swan, Hunter & Wigham Richardson, Newcastle-on-Tyne.	$12,174,000
Cammel Laird & Co., Birkenhead	$11,280,000

All these tenders were for **building the whole number of ships entirely in Canada.**

These tenders did not include armour plate, armament or certain fittings usually supplied by the Admiralty, but included the fitting of these articles on board the vessels, mounting the armour and guns, and putting anchors and chains on board, etc.

May 12th—Hon. L. P. Brodeur, **Minister of Department of Naval Service, sails for England** to attend **subsidiary conference of Imperial Conference on Naval Defence.**

June 29th—**Agreement concluded between the British Admiralty and representatives of the Dominions** of Canada and Australia, **respecting the control** of the Naval Service and forces of the Dominion of Canada and Australia, and setting forth **the limits of the Canadian and Australian naval stations** respectively.

The limits of the Canadian stations are described as follows:—

"**The Canadian Atlantic Station** will include the waters north of 30 degrees north latitude and west of the meridian of 40 degrees longitude."

"**The Canadian Pacific Station** will include the waters north of 30 degrees north latitude and east of the meridian of 180 degrees longitude."

July 16—Hon. L. P. Brodeur returns to Canada.

On July 29th, the Canadian Parliament was dissolved and on September 21st the Dominion general elections were held. Because of the impending elections, the tenders for the construction of ships, were not awarded by the Laurier Administration, and after the Government's defeat, these tenders were transferred to the Borden Ministry which was formed on October 10th, 1911.

The Borden Administration took no action in regard to the tenders, and deliberately sought to minimize in as many directions as possible, the beginnings which had been made in the Canadian Naval Service under the Laurier Administration. Recruiting was discouraged to make it appear that difficulty would exist in obtaining the necessary complement of men; and **the Rainbow** and **the Niobe,** which had been obtained for training purposes only, were referred to as the " Laurier Navy."

The first annual report of the Deputy Minister of the Department of Naval Service which was for the year ending March 31, 1911, the Liberals being still in office, contains the following reference to **recruiting for the Canadian Naval Service.** " Recruiting has been satisfactory, and the complement of the **Niobe** is practically complete whilst there are still a few vacancies in the Rainbow. As the advantages of the

service become more widely known, **it is anticipated that there will be no difficulty in obtaining recruits.**"—(Report of the Department of Naval Service for the fiscal year ending March 31, 1911, page 8).

The report of the Deputy Minister for the year ending March, 1912, the Conservatives being then in office, contains the following statement, which speaks for itself.

" Owing to the uncertainty of the future Naval policy, and the limited accommodation available, **no special efforts have been made to obtain recruits for the Navy.**"—(Report of the Department of Naval Service for the fiscal year ending 31st March, 1912, page 8).

The same expression is used throughout the report in reference to other branches of the Naval service, as, for example, with respect to **the reorganization of the Naval Establishment at Esquimalt and Halifax,** the report says, on page 10, " having regard to the fact that **the future Naval policy of the Government has not been definitely laid down,** it has been thought desirable not to," etc.

This **deliberate effort to thwart development of the Canadian Naval service** was, doubtless, necessitated by the compromise effected by Mr. Borden with the Nationalists prior to the elections, and renewed at the time three of their members, Messrs. Monk, Nantel and Pelletier, were taken by him into his ministry.

Though **a longer period of time has elapsed since Mr. Borden assumed office** than the Liberal Administration had for giving effect to the provisions of the Naval Service Act, **absolutely nothing has been done by the Borden Administration,** either by way of giving effect to the provisions of this Act, which is still on the Statutes, or of carrying out the provisions of the unanimous resolution of the House of Commons of March, 1909, which has never been rescinded. Nor has anything been done as respects Naval defence in any other way. What is even more serious is that, in the absence of any definitely defined permanent policy, the several branches of the Naval Service already established, are being held, as it were, between heaven and earth. They are being maintained at considerable cost to the Dominion, but, from the point of view of efficiency, or of service to Canada or the Mother Country, are being rendered valueless.

On December 5, 1912, Mr. Borden introduced a bill to authorize the expenditure of $35,000,000 on the three largest battleships in the world as part of a permanent policy of contribution by Canada to the British Admiralty, or as part of some other policy to be announced later, but it remains to be seen if this proposal will receive the sanction of Parliament.

Copies of this pamphlet may be had on applying to the Central Liberal Information Office, Ottawa, Can.

Lowe-Martin Print. Ottawa